27: Schwimmer E-5 (1966-1970) 1979 OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

Christ does not, like traditional work, have a palpable virtue such that the good man will succeed at it while the bad man will fail. Anyone at all can succeed at New Guinea wage labour – *wok mani tasol* as it is called in Neo-Melanesian.[23] Yet this money, when it enters the village gift exchange circuit, will establish claims to status on an equal footing with wealth available only to cultivators with real traditional power (*ivo*).

It is this anomaly that appears to have been coped with by the New Guinea gambling system. The game called *laki* (lucky) is supposedly a game of pure chance but if chance is with you it shows that a powerful ancestor is supporting you. Your luck at the game shows your spiritual resources just as luck at gardening shows this. It is the people with weaker ancestors who lose. Medicines are also used to improve luck, but they are secondary. Evidence for supranatural intervention is that the results of the game, instead of being random as one would expect from the rules, always favour the same individuals. Whether these individuals play honestly I cannot tell, as the game goes on day and night and only a very weak lantern is used at night, my tilley lamp being considered unsuitable.

Laki is played by Orokaiva especially when the coffee proceeds have just been distributed and generally whenever a large number of community members receive money from non-traditional sources simultaneously. Play may continue for several days without interruption, until all the money is cleaned up by a single winner. This redistribution restores the traditional status pattern disturbed by the culture hero Jesus Christ.

Playing cards are outlawed in Papua New Guinea; nobody is allowed legally to possess them or to import them. Though this legislation was a response to popular pressure, it was in the churches that the pressure was in fact generated. It is thus hoped that New Guineans will eventually allocate status on the basis of the mere possession of money. The total inefficacy of this government legislation shows that New Guineans have great difficulty in accepting this secularized concept of work and status. Magico-religious tests have the function of hallowing money. They also assert the supremacy of traditional work concepts over modern ones.

Alienation in the Creation of Use Values

It is especially the French Marxist africanists such as Terray, Meillassoux, Auge,[23] who have alerted us to the prevalence of exploitation in tribal or lineage-societies where anthropologists